

## Intelligence and Migration: Cases from North America

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### Introduction

The USA and Canada receive migrants from every part of the world. Many are legal immigrants and some are illegal or undocumented (about 11 million in the USA of a population of about 324 million, or ~ 3.4% of the total US population in 2016). Syrians, North Africans, Afghans and Iraqi refugees are the biggest immigration demographics in Europe, but in North America other ethnicities predominate, especially Latin Americans and Asians.

21<sup>st</sup> century terrorism has increased concerns about immigrants, especially undocumented or "illegal" immigrants. There is a long history of such concerns in North America beginning with Native American fears of the tidal wave of Europeans entering after 1492. What happened to them is one lesson security professionals must consider. The natives were nearly wiped out over a period of centuries, often by direct aggression, but more by disease and exile to harsh and barren lands. If large numbers of immigrants with aggressive birth rates come, they can take over entire continents in just a few centuries. But our vigorous and interesting continent has also been "built by immigrants" who remain very important to national economies today.

Immigrant populations of special interest to modern US intelligence services have included:

- Cubans (who enjoy a special immigration status and intelligence significance).
- Somalis (targeted for recruitment for foreign wars by Al Shabaab and ISIS).
- Colombians (and other South and Central Americans, of special interest in drug wars).
- Mexicans (the same except that Mexicans and their descendants are also very involved in domestic US agriculture, construction, health care, and every job description).
- Chinese (of special national security concern for economic and technical espionage).
- Poles, Romanians, Ukrainians, Russians, Slovenes, Czech's, and all Eastern European ethnicities (of special relevance during the 'Cold War,' now warming up again).

We will survey these ethnic groups with respect to three broader themes:

- A. National security concerns like counterterrorism and counter proliferation (of WMD).
- B. The drug wars.
- C. Economic espionage and cybersecurity concerns (related, but also quite different).

After this review, a small section will deal with the special problem of sea routes for smuggling drugs, human beings, and weapons. One oddity is immediately obvious. US coastal surveillance can detect the smallest raft carrying people from Haiti or Cuba toward our shores, but typically misses over 90% of drug shipments. An historic case involving the DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) CIA and cocaine during the Iran-Contra period (mid-1980's) will be presented based on public records and less well known, but very detailed testimony and publications of an agent who worked for both of those agencies and the US Army over a long career. Bradley Earl Ayers had extensive knowledge of sea routes and Cuban operations going back to Operation Mongoose in 1962 when he worked for the CIA at Miami Station, focused on national security concerns. Then he worked for the DEA on drug trafficking during the 1980's in south Florida. Some missions overlapped during Iran-Contra, which led to problems then and now.

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<sup>1</sup> BISA = the Baltic Intelligence Studies Association, established in 2012 at "Need to Know II" in Odense, Denmark at the University of Southern Denmark.

## Cubans

When rebels led by Fidel Castro overthrew the Batista government in 1959 large numbers of Cubans fled to the United States, starting with members of that government and often wealthy land or business owners whose property was, or soon would be, confiscated. As the new, now communist government consolidated, this flow never ended, and had immediate and long term national security implications. The population of Cuban immigrants in the United States more than doubled between 1950 and 1960, rising from 71,000 to 163,000. By 1980 it was 608,000 and is about 1.2 million in 2016, aided greatly by unique opportunities to acquire citizenship.<sup>i</sup>

Geopolitical consequences were immediate and profound, highlighted by a disastrous “Bay of Pigs” invasion on 17 April, 1961 where CIA-led Cuban expatriates were decimated, and by the Cuban Missile crisis of October, 1962, after Soviet nuclear warheads and missiles were detected on the island. That brought the world as close to general thermonuclear war as it had ever come. So intelligence from Cuban immigrants became extremely important, and many were approached about going back to do missions. After hair-raising settlements to those events, countermeasures by the CIA remained very extensive including Operation Mongoose<sup>ii</sup> which infiltrated many expatriate Cubans to conduct sabotage and surveillance out of the largest CIA station in the world at that time, Miami Station. A young Army Ranger, Captain Bradley Earl Ayers, was detailed to CIA’s Miami station to help train those Cubans in paramilitary commando tactics.<sup>iii</sup> He also led some of the missions to the island, but did not stay. His larger story will be in the last section of this paper because it reveals some of the less well known consequences of the US government’s exceptional relationship with Cuba, its immigrants, with organized crime, and subsequently with narco-traffickers from many Latin American countries.

For much of this time Cubans were admitted to the USA through special humanitarian provisions of law instead of the immigration pathways accessible by other nationalities. In 1966, Congress passed the Cuban Adjustment Act, which provides a pathway to permanent residence for Cubans who have been physically present in the United States for at least one year. And in 1994 and 1995 migration accords established a policy called “wet-foot, dry-foot.”<sup>iv</sup> Unless they cite fears of persecution, Cubans intercepted at sea are returned to Cuba, while those who reach the United States are generally permitted to stay and may adjust to permanent resident status after one year. So the Cuban population in the United States has steadily grown, accelerating from 737,000 in 1990 to 1,144,000 in 2013. Many have served as sources of intelligence on Cuba, some as agents to try to penetrate Cuban institutions, and some as paramilitary commandos attacking Cuba by sabotage or delivery of agricultural diseases long into the 1970’s at least.

Operation Mongoose became publicly known only during the Church Committee hearings in 1975,<sup>v</sup> which revealed it to have an annual budget of \$50 million, employing ~ 2,500 personnel commanded by the Army’s top psychological warfare officer, General Edward Lansdale. At its peak, it was run out of Attorney General Robert Kennedy’s office, with Lansdale the visionary controlling plans and daily operations. Captain Ayers met Robert Kennedy during one of his inspections, and claims that RFK had a deep, personal interest in many operational details.

One aspect of this which had very long enduring consequences was collaboration between the CIA and the Mafia on assassination methods.<sup>vi</sup> The Church commission found that the CIA failed in at least 8 assassination attempts against Castro, run by Operation Mongoose, and the Cubans claimed they foiled more like 28. This very embarrassing record for Ivy League CIA

types prompted outreach to the organized crime group thought most expert in killing politically selected targets. They still failed to kill Castro, but some were probably involved in murdering President John F. Kennedy on 22 November, 1963 out of rage related to the lack of support at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, and an unrelenting war against the Mafia at home by the President's brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. <sup>vii, viii, ix, x</sup>

## Somalis

On 3 June, 2016, three Somali-Americans from Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA were convicted of trying to travel to Syria to fight with the Islamic State, or ISIS. During the trial, police authorities claimed they were among "more than 15" who tried to join ISIS abroad, and more than 20 who successfully joined Al Shabaab in Somalia, several of whom died in combat there. <sup>xi</sup> Al Shabaab has been on most lists of terrorist groups much longer than ISIS, but is a security concern mainly in Somalia and Kenya which must deal with large numbers of refugees from their north. Many of the Somali refugees in Minnesota come from those refugee camps in Kenya.

In this way, global issues can become local quickly. When America's Federal government brings large numbers of ethnic refugees to the USA, it tends to settle them in clusters where they can help each other create small businesses and cope with the many challenges of living in a new land. It was so with the Hmong from Laos following our loss to Vietnam in the mid-1970's, and excellent social services made Minnesota a preferred destination for refugee Somalis also, even though our snow, ice and rain climate is vastly different from desert Somalia. Hmong from the jungles and mountains of Laos did well here, why not Somalis?

When terrorism became the threat most focused on, ethnic enclaves connected to conflict zones abroad that generate terrorist groups became a national security concern. Therefore, the Somalis in Minnesota have been surveilled intensively, informants recruited, and great sums have been spent by both local and federal law enforcement looking for potential or emerging terrorists in this community. One should say these communities, because the Somalis retain clan distinctions that result in smaller conflicts even in comfortable, conflict resolution land, Minnesota.

So, gentle Minnesota now leads the USA in the number of people who have left, or sought to leave the country to fight with terrorists abroad, according to a scathing congressional report by the US House Committee on Homeland Security. <sup>xii, xiii</sup>

In the big picture, these are very small security concerns because the actual number of terrorist attacks in Minnesota is very near to zero. <sup>xiv</sup> Somali-American mothers are often more concerned that their sons stay home, stay in school and work to pursue a path to assimilation and greater wealth that has worked for many other ethnic immigrants to America over decades. Thus those moms are often allies of local law enforcement. But the long term result will depend very much on how well assimilation and economic development proceeds, and how harsh the side effects of constant surveillance are. There are young men who fail in every society, and terrorist recruiters are eager to provide them rationalizations based on alleged victimhood, and advice about how to join groups that promise honor, money and sometimes 'wives' caught in combat far away.

Two keys to success are clear. One is effective assimilation economically. The other is adjustment of tribal customs to modern concepts of gender equity, and specifically enabling young women to do things other than bear and raise many children, too many for the land to support, which led to the crisis in Somalia to begin with and resulting migrations elsewhere.

## Colombians

For 15 years the USA poured about ten billions of dollars into something called “Plan Colombia” which intended to suppress drug production and trafficking in that country, and to support the central government in its decades long war with a rebel group called the “FARC”<sup>xv</sup> (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*, or the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia). The FARC was political, but it also controlled some of the best coca growing regions in Colombia.

That 50 plus years civil war was of marginal importance to most American lawmakers compared to the US security goal of reducing drug imports to the USA. Colombia had become the largest grower and processor of cocaine in Latin America (producing about 90% of US consumption)<sup>xvi</sup> and Colombian-run drug distribution gangs in the USA were especially violent. The Colombian civil war was seen in the US as a mere echo of the Cold War, while the “War on Drugs” remains a living force in the USA today that employs millions of Americans.

It is seldom possible to clinically separate how many people leave a country for which of many reasons, especially when failing state security issues intersect with things like the international trade in illegal drugs. In “Plan Colombia: A Retrospective,”<sup>xvii</sup> Michael Shifter reports that “According to Colombia’s National Administrative Statistics Department (DANE), over 700,000 migrants left the country from 1995 to 2000. Such an outflow led many Colombians to recognize that the status quo was not sustainable. Something dramatic had to be done.”

Many of those migrants came to the US and Canada. We received tremendous value from them. So many doctors and other health professionals left Colombia that the brain drain became severe, and special laws had to be passed to reduce that particular flow. We also received some of the most ruthless drug distribution networks in the USA, with manifold consequences. All of these pro and con immigrants were framed by the distinction between “legal” and “illegal” drugs.

So, for both the “War on Drugs” and the more conventional security goal of opposing communist penetration of the Western hemisphere, US intelligence saw these migrants as: 1) sources of information on Colombia, including paramilitary, revolutionary and business of drugs groups, 2) potential recruits for deeper intelligence projects throughout Latin America, and 3) potential employees with valuable language and cultural skills. For example, many were hired by our burgeoning border control forces, immigration prisons (detention facilities) and a deportation process that sends about 400,000 Latin Americans of all countries back each year today.<sup>xviii</sup>

There is government applause for Plan Colombia on both sides, and there are many critiques of Plan Colombia that highlight its failures.<sup>xix</sup> More dispassionate descriptions are provided by the BBC<sup>xx</sup> and the Brookings Institution.<sup>xxi</sup> Since the federal government of Colombia and the FARC have recently completed major steps to end their very long civil war, and since levels of general violence (kidnappings, murders, extortions, etc.) have declined dramatically, I conclude that the security goals have been pretty well achieved. At the same time, the drugs trade is certainly not smaller and may be larger today than ever. So Plan Colombia was a big failure at that goal, if that goal was ever the primary objective. The proportion of resources devoted to military and paramilitary support was always far larger than the proportion of US aid devoted to economic or social development. So no one should be surprised at subsequent results. The story of Brad Ayers to come, sheds an interesting light on that question.

## Mexicans

Something like 6 million undocumented, or “illegal,” Mexican immigrants labor in America’s agricultural fields, construction, landscaping and staff our hotels and slaughterhouses where livestock are processed for daily consumption. Mexicans and their descendants are a vital, indispensable part of our economy. Their descendants become doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, soldiers, police and fill every job description. Whether these people are legal, or not, depends mainly on whether they were born before, or after, their parents crossed our borders.

Thus the intelligence aspect of Mexican immigrants is dwarfed by their economic effects. There are Mexican drug gangs too, of course, some dramatically violent like M-13 (Mara Salvatrucha) and the Mexican Mafia. And Mexico remains a primary transit country for much of the cocaine trade from Colombia. So some immigrants become sources of information about gangs, and many citizens of Mexican descent staff our border patrol and other law enforcement.

With the decline of civil wars in Latin America there are very few directly national security implications of the huge numbers of people in America today of Mexican and Central American descent. Hispanics of all kinds are extremely important for staffing our Army and Marines in particular – that may be their largest security impact as a practical matter. In fact, service in the US military is one of the very few routes by which formerly “illegal” Latin immigrants can easily become US citizens due to special laws authorizing that.

So we are left with the “War on Drugs.” And the “War on Drugs” is a very unusual, atypical, and in many ways arbitrary, discretionary, legalistic war. Further comment on that will be deferred for the section on Captain Bradley Ayers and his unusual (but not unique) testimony about what he saw on both sides of that “war.”

The Wall Street Journal notes, on 9 and 21 September, 2016, that Latino population growth in the US has slowed, and results mainly from births in the US today rather than emigration to the country as in years past. “Indeed, more people from Mexico, the biggest source of Latino immigrants are now leaving than entering the U.S. according to Pew” (a major source of polling and statistical data).<sup>xxii</sup> Still, the electoral significance of Hispanics in general is growing. “All told, the U.S. was home to 55.4 million Hispanics in 2014, out of a total population of around 319 million that year.”<sup>xxiii</sup>

## Chinese

While growing Chinese military operations in the South China Sea dominate the news, the biggest national security concern for most counterintelligence people is perfusion of Chinese nationals and Americans of Chinese descent into our information technology sector presenting risks of economic espionage and cyberwarfare. The Chinese model of information collection differs from much of the west by spending less effort trying to cultivate single spies at the highest levels who could steal entire war plans or industrial secrets, in favor of stealing secrets one bit at a time using many individuals, who send their bits back to headquarters for reassembly, analysis and sometimes reverse engineering there.<sup>xxiv</sup>

Cultivating teams with technical skills takes time and money. Entire departments of graduate software engineering in the USA, for example, are dominated by full-tuition paying students from China. Some departments would close without these students, and almost all would be affected. Many of those students go back to China where their new technical and language skills can be put to use by whoever is hiring there, which undoubtedly includes security agencies. Others stay in the US or the west, to rise in jobs that sometimes require security clearances. This is a nightmare for counterintelligence specialists, because they represent a pool of critically needed skills with significant security risks attached. The largest single employer of IT professionals in America is the Department of Defense. But a good spy at Google or Apple may be as valuable as a good spy in the Pentagon or sensitive intelligence entities.

At least 13 Chinese Americans and Chinese nationals living in the USA have been successfully prosecuted for espionage in America since 1986. <sup>xxv</sup>

An historical comparison with Japanese Americans during World War II adds perspective. After the shock of the attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December, 1941, some parts of the US government including President Roosevelt feared invasion so much that they required 110-120 thousands of Japanese Americans who lived in our west to abandon their property and businesses to live in special “internment camps” until wars’ end. Many were citizens (about 62% <sup>xxvi</sup>) some not yet. But about 20 thousand of their children also became troops, translators and other intelligence personnel for the brutal war in the Pacific, where most worked hard to show that they were just as loyal and just as brave as any other American citizens. And their 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team in Europe was the most highly decorated US military unit of its size ever. <sup>xxvii</sup>

## Eastern Europeans

The “melting pot” of America includes immigrants from every nation on earth. During the Cold War, Poles, Romanians and other Eastern Europeans provided a large pool of information about those Warsaw Pact countries, and potential recruits with excellent language skills and cultural knowledge for operations against them.

This now familiar pattern was affected greatly by the relatively sudden and amazingly non-violent dissolution of the Soviet Union into Russia and 14 other Republics. The intelligence significance of Eastern Europeans for the US declined somewhat overall, but never ended. The US and the EU still compete with Russia for influence in this area. In countries like Poland, old regimes were replaced wholesale. Lech Wałęsa led rebellion from the shipyards of Gdansk beginning in 1980, helped form the “Solidarity” trade union movement, and became president. In Romania, the dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife Elena were killed on 25 December, 1989. His equally hated internal security service, the “Securitate” or *Departamentul Securității Statului* was reformed into a more modern, and moderate, *Serviciul Roman de Informatii* or SRI.

Former communist leaders remained in power in other countries, like Belarus and Ukraine. “Color revolutions” ensued, and Yugoslavia disintegrated into constituents Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo, followed by a series of wars among them. NATO greatly expanded (from 16 countries in 1982 to 28 countries today). New independents like Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania joined to secure their independence, as did some former Warsaw Pact members like Poland and Romania. Czechoslovakia split in two, while East and West Germany reunited. It was a time of rapid and dramatic changes in Eastern Europe.

As Russia recovered from its partial collapse, and KGB veteran Vladimir Putin arose as the new strongest among ‘strong’ men, Ukraine became a hot spot in a new, reduced, but still quite dangerous Cold War. Russia moved troops into linguistic enclaves in Georgia in 2008 called Abkhazia and Southern Ossetia, which frightened all of the neighbors. Russian troops never left the “Trans-Dniestr” area of Moldova where they remain today in a sliver of land that calls itself the *Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic*. When Russia annexed Crimea and deployed a very thorough form of “hybrid warfare”<sup>xxviii</sup> in Eastern Ukraine in 2014, fears there and throughout Europe greatly increased. Thousands of “little green” Russian soldiers in unmarked uniforms with first class Russian weapons moved into eastern Ukraine, where many remain today.

In periods of rapid change and deep instability intelligence needs do not decline, and often increase. What is actually going on becomes harder to discern, and the decline of old factions and rise of new ones becomes difficult for locals to understand much less agencies of major powers far away. All this increases the need for good intelligence among neighbors and allies.

Rather than belabor that obvious point, we turn now to the disturbing story of a US agent who became expert in both overt and covert use of sea routes through the Gulf of Mexico.

### **CIA relations with Drug Running and Assassination, as seen by a former employee**

Covert operators are accustomed to breaking laws to accomplish their missions, especially but not exclusively laws of enemy or adversary countries. This is assumed to be done in service to higher goals like protecting the nation from this danger or that. But sometimes means to ends become ends in themselves, especially when large sums of unaccountable money are involved. There is a recurring pattern of drugs and guns going in opposite directions in war zones, and serving as surrogate currencies. US Army Captain Bradley Earl Ayers became an unintended eyewitness to some of the worst aspects of this all too common phenomenon.

In 1962 he was detailed to the CIA’s Miami station to train expatriate Cubans in paramilitary commando tactics. He did that with great enthusiasm and skill. Later in life, he regretted to conclude that he had worked with some of the men who actually killed our President John F. Kennedy, and under some of the men who planned that very significant assassination.<sup>xxix</sup>

During the 1980’s Mr. Ayers was working for the DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) using covert skills to infiltrate selected drug gangs. He and his partner (a Customs officer named Joseph Price) noticed that about half of their investigations could proceed, but the other half were blocked by higher authorities for inscrutable reasons. Over time they concluded that some were protected on purpose. So Mr. Ayers penetrated the fenced facility at a Miami airport that had been used by the CIA during his time working for them. He entered a total of ten aircraft with his DEA drug testing kits, and found positive residues of cocaine in five of them. They concluded that the CIA was running cocaine out of Central America in support of what later came to be called the “Iran-Contra” operation. They also learned what can happen to uniformed officers (Price) who start digging too deeply into illegal, domestic intelligence operations.

There were precedents. Al McCoy wrote extensively about CIA drug running out of Laos during the war in Vietnam in 1972<sup>xxx</sup>. Another DEA agent Michael Levine wrote about CIA cocaine running from Latin America<sup>xxxi</sup>. UC Berkeley professor Peter Dale Scott wrote about the larger

political context in “Cocaine Politics.”<sup>xxxii</sup> CBS News interviewed one of the drug runners on national television, a man named Tosh Plumly, whom Brad Ayers knew and worked with during his former CIA tour of duty.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Senior Army officers testified about how drugs and guns serve as alternative currencies for many groups in Latin America, including intelligence entities, and even the CIA’s Inspector General Frederick P. Hitz conceded these truths to the US Congress in 1998.<sup>xxxiv</sup> Most often, the guns flow one way, and the drugs flow the other way. We have seen this again in Afghanistan much more recently with heroin. This is a pattern intelligence agencies are well aware of, since their job is to cultivate sources of information in conflict zones far away.

## Conclusions

Humans have been migrating since long before recorded history. Anthropologists claim the first migrations to North America began roughly 30-50,000 years ago when one of the ice ages dried up the Bering Strait allowing them to just walk from what is now called Siberia to Alaska, and then south. As two huge continents filled up with people, various conflicts began, and by the time of the Incan and Aztec Empires, they were well documented and large. Then Columbus arrived from Spain, and a wave of conflict of even larger dimensions began. So there is nothing fundamentally new about migration and conflict on this side of the planet.

Rather than restate points made in the main text, we are going to present some perspectives on current intelligence and policy dilemmas revealed by that very long term, and global view of migration. For example, it is almost certain that migration from Middle Eastern and Islamic conflict zones will continue for a very long time, because the fundamental driving force is high birth rates in lands that already have too many people to support modern life styles.<sup>xxxv</sup>

When too many people live on too little land, and where high birth rates yield pyramidal age distributions (meaning many young compared to elders) ex-migration is inevitable unless strong walls or guns prevent that. Ergo armed conflict at borders, and endemic violence within borders, as people struggle over scarce resources. This is harsher in desert lands, many of which were lush in days long gone, like the once fertile crescent where early human civilizations were born. Where Eden was, now deserts. Greece was lush long ago, and North Africa was the granary of the Roman Empire, before the forests were cut down, and deserts or near deserts replaced them.

It is simplistic to say that “demographics are destiny” as Auguste Comte did in the mid-1800’s.<sup>xxxvi</sup> But it is certainly true that demographics have enormous effects on the destiny of nations and civilizations. The current rush of desperate migrants toward Europe is just the latest version of an ancient paradigm of people moving along opportunity gradients, from poor to wealthy regions. People are attracted to better opportunities for their families, and driven from violent conflict zones where death rates are rising to meet birth rates, as they inevitably must in the very long run of any species. Everything born, eventually dies, so in the very long run, death rates must equal birth rates which thus determine life expectancy. So high birth rates yield short lives.

This is a hard natural law to respect, an “iron law” of biology. But it is as inevitable as gravity, and cannot be repealed by any politics or any religion that may claim (as so many do) that their people are more deserving of the fruits of our limited earth than others. So long as nations or cultures try to fight that law, they will also fight each other, and migrate from desperate places to places of greater opportunity. Migrations north from Central America will also continue for very similar reasons.<sup>xxxvii</sup> Intelligence agencies east and west must ponder all relevant consequences.



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- <sup>i</sup> Cuban Immigrants in the United States, by Sylvia Rusin, Jie Zong, and Jeanne Batalova, Migration Policy Institute, April, 2015. Their data is accessible at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/cuban-immigrants-united-states>
- <sup>ii</sup> *A Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*, by Tim Weiner. New York, NY: Doubleday, 2007.
- <sup>iii</sup> *The War that Never Was: An Insider's Account of CIA Covert Operations against Cuba*, by Bradley Earl Ayers. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976.
- <sup>iv</sup> "U.S. Allows Cuban Migrants Different Treatment" in About News, 25 January, 2016, accessible at: <http://immigration.about.com/od/immigrationlawandpolicy/a/U-S-Allows-Cuban-Migrants-Different-Treatment.htm>
- <sup>v</sup> *The FBI, COINTELPRO, and Martin Luther King, Jr.: Final report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities* (a.k.a. the Church Committee Final Report) 1975.
- <sup>vi</sup> *All-American Mafioso: The Johnny Roselli Story*, by Charles Rappleye. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1991.
- <sup>vii</sup> *The Last Investigation: What Insiders Know about the Assassination of JFK*, by Gaeton Fonzi. New York, NY: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1995. Mr. Fonzi was one of the very few actual investigators hired by the House Select Committee on Assassinations which concluded that both Kennedy and Martin Luther King later were killed by conspiracies and specifically that at least four shots were fired on Dealey Plaza in Dallas, Texas, on 22 November, 1963, making the official explanation of a lone gunman (Lee Harvey Oswald) impossible.
- <sup>viii</sup> *Crossfire: The Plot That Killed Kennedy*, by Jim Marrs, New York, NY: Carroll and Graf, 1989.
- <sup>ix</sup> *Zenith Secret: The conspiracy that killed the Kennedy brothers finally revealed by an Army Ranger-CIA veteran*, by Bradley Earl Ayers, Rosedog Press, 2013.
- <sup>x</sup> *Final Report of the House Select Committee on Assassinations*, original published in 1979 by the US Government Printing Office, a paperback edition was published in 2007 by the Mary Ferrell Foundation in Texas. This report is noteworthy because it reached profound conclusions about highly significant American assassinations, that both President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King were killed by conspiracies involving more than the "lone, deranged gunman" presented by the official stories on these events. But the report's conclusions never reached most of the public. It can be read in government repository libraries any day, but with very little public or media commentary even when released, it is now completely unknown to most American citizens.
- <sup>xi</sup> "3 Somali-American men found guilty in Minneapolis terrorism case" in the *New York Times*, 3 June, 2016, accessible at: <http://www.twincities.com/2016/06/03/minnesota-islamic-state-trial-verdict/>
- <sup>xii</sup> "Minnesota leads the nation in would-be ISIL terrorists from U.S., report finds" in the *Star Tribune*, 29 September, 2015.
- <sup>xiii</sup> *Final Report of the Task Force on Combating Terrorist and Foreign Fighter Travel*, by the U.S. House Homeland Security Committee, 29 September, 2015, accessible at: [http://stmedia.startribune.com/documents/ClaireWoolf\\_TaskForceReport.pdf](http://stmedia.startribune.com/documents/ClaireWoolf_TaskForceReport.pdf)
- <sup>xiv</sup> Actually, there has been exactly one terrorist attack in Minnesota during the 21<sup>st</sup> century. On 18 September, 2016, a 20-year-old US citizen named Dahir Adan living in St. Cloud, MN, attacked ten people with a knife at a mall. None were killed, but an off-duty police officer did kill Adan. A Minnesota Fusion Center "Weekly Partner Brief" of 6, October, 2016 described Adan as "born to a Somali family in Kenya before immigrating to the United States."
- <sup>xv</sup> A collection of stories about the FARC from the New York Times can be accessed at: <http://www.nytimes.com/topic/organization/revolutionary-armed-forces-of-colombia-farc>
- <sup>xvi</sup> "World Drug Report" by the United Nations Office of Drug Control, 2009, accessible at: <https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tocta/4.Cocaine.pdf>
- <sup>xvii</sup> "Plan Colombia: a Retrospective," by Michael Schifter, in *America's Quarterly*, summer 2012, accessible at: <http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/3787>.
- <sup>xviii</sup> FY 2015 ICE Immigration Removals, US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, accessible at <https://www.ice.gov/removal-statistics>.
- <sup>xix</sup> "Sorry, Hillary: Plan Colombia has been a Drug War Disaster," by Daniel Robello, in *Huffington Post*, Nov. 2013, accessible at: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/daniel-robello/hillary-clinton-plan-colombia\\_b\\_8557396.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/daniel-robello/hillary-clinton-plan-colombia_b_8557396.html)
- <sup>xx</sup> "Has Plan Colombia Really Worked?" on the *BBC World News*, 4 February, 2016, accessible at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-35491504>.
- <sup>xxi</sup> "Plan Colombia: An Analysis of Effectiveness and Costs," by Daniel Mejia, Universidad de los Andes in Bogota, Colombia, sponsored by the Brookings Institution and accessible at: <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Mejia-Colombia-final-2.pdf>.
- <sup>xxii</sup> "Latino Population Growth Slows" in *The Wall Street Journal*, 9 September, 2016, page A2.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> "Illegal Immigrant Mix Shifts: number of people in the US illegally levels off as those entering from Mexico falls," in *The Wall Street Journal*, 21 September, 2016, p. A3.

<sup>xxiv</sup> “How China Spies” a video documentary produced by Frontline, PBS, 15 January, 2004, accessible at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/spy/spies/> .

<sup>xxv</sup> “List of Chinese spy cases in the United States” from Wikipedia, accessible at: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Chinese\\_spy\\_cases\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Chinese_spy_cases_in_the_United_States) .

<sup>xxvi</sup> “The War Relocation Authority and The Incarceration of Japanese Americans During World War II: 1948 Chronology” from the Truman Library, accessible at: [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/japanese\\_internment/index.php](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/japanese_internment/index.php) .

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